Negation in Vietnamese and in some of the Viet-Mudng languages

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In modern Vietnamese, the negative morpheme is không. In the 17th century however, the negative particle was chẳng as attested in A. de Rhodes' Brevis Declaratio included in his Dictionarium annamiticum lusitanum, et latinum.

Không is borrowed from Chinese : transcribed by the character 2^{k} , it is categorized in this language as an adjective meaning 'empty, void'. Due to an internal evolution, không has become a regular negative particle in Vietnamese, and replaces chẳng of Vietnamese origin. The grammaticalization of không which extended over many centuries did not fail to rouse the curiosity of linguists, more especially as this phenomenon was taking place outside of any Chinese domination.

Why this replacement of *chẳng* by *không*? Did *không* bring something more with regard to negation? To answer this question, we will relate the opposition of *chẳng/không* to that of two types of negation, negation of truth and negation of existence.

1. The chang/không contrast

Nowadays, *không* has completely replaced *chẳng* as a negative preverb. Hà Q.N. et Pham N.T. (1976) counted 732 uses of *không* for 129 uses of *chẳng* in a survey of the press vocabulary. Many syntax-semantic differences between *chẳng* and *không* explain the replacement of the first by the second.

1.1. Yes-no questions using sentences with nominal predicate

Chẳng or rather its allomorph chặng, contrary to không, can serve as a negative particle in a yes-no question whose affirmative term is a sentence with nominal predicate. Below is a delarative sentence, ex. (1), and its interrogative counterpart, ex. (2):

- (1) Nó là sinh viên he be student He is a student
- (2) Nó là sinh viên (hay) chăng ? he be student or Neg. Is he a student ?

If we replace chang by không, then the resulting sentence (3) will be ill-formed :

(3) *Nó là sinh viên (hay) **không**?

The contrast acceptable/unacceptable between (2) and (3) can be explained by the fact that *không* serves to negate an existence while *chẳng/chăng* is used to deny a truth. This will be clear in (4) where if we do not replace *không* by *chăng*, we have to add before the copula *là* 'to be' the morphemes (*có*) *phải* '(to exist) true' :

 (4) Nó (có) phải là sinh viên (hay) không?
he (exist) true be student or Neg. Is he a student ?

Why in (4), is the particle *không* acceptable when it is not in (3)? Because in (4), the reading of *không* is the same as *chăng*. Indeed, by referring to the affirmative term of the yes-no question, *không* has to be read as *không* (có) phải and not just as *không* in (3). But *không* (có) phải [literally: Neg. (to exist) true] turns out to be a negation that brings upon (có) phải '(to exist) true', the truth; có is optional because for all negation marked by *không* if not otherwise specified, it should be understood as a negation bringing upon có 'to exist' recoverable, that is a negation of existence. This allows us to say that *không* is equivalent to *không có*. This equivalence can be clearly shown by means of a yes-no question whose affirmative term is a sentence with verbal predicate:

(5) Nó (có) chạy không ? he (có) run Neg. Does he run ?

 $C\delta$ is not obligatory in (5) but to answer "yes" to this question, we have to say $c\delta$; and this fact means that $c\delta$ is always there and recoverable. Furthermore, the negative answer to (5) is either *không* or *không* $c\delta$. The contrast *yes/no* for (5) turns out to be $c\delta/không$ with *không* interpreted as *không* $c\delta$. In sum, two types of predicate-phrase should be distinguished, verbal predicate and nominal predicate; verbal predicate is negated by *không* ($c\delta$) while nominal predicate, marked by the copula *là*, is negated by *không* ($c\delta$) phải. With regard to the synomyny between (2) and (4), it may be said that *chǎng* is semantically equivalent to *không* ($c\delta$) phải.

Taking into account the respective semantics of $c\delta'$ to exist' and $ph\dot{a}i'$ true', the distinction negation of existence/negation of truth corresponding to the contrast of $kh\partial ng/ch\dot{a}ng$ equivalent to that of $kh\partial ng(c\delta)/kh\partial ng(c\delta)$ phải, is well founded. It is to be noted that a judgement of truth is second with respect to a judgement of existence in the sense that the former should be performed through the latter marked by $c\delta$. The distinction of these two types of negation corresponding to $ch\dot{a}ng$ and $kh\partial ng$ is confirmed by other phenomena.

2.2. Double negation

In rhetorical questions, double negation is realized with *chẳng*, not with *không*. (6) is well-formed while (7) is not because in the last sentence, *chẳng* is replaced by không:

- (6) Nó chẳng không quen với mày hay sao? he chẳng không know with you or how Isn't he one of your acquaintances?
- (7) *Nó không không quen với mày hay sao?

In (7), replace không by không phải 'Neg. true', we shall obtain (8), a well-formed sentence semantically equivalent to (6):

(8) Nó không phải không quen với mày hay sao? il Neg. true Neg. know with you or how Isn't it true that he is one of your acquaintances?

The comparison of (6) with (8) confirms once more the equivalence between chẳng and không phải.

2.3. Interro-negative

Interro-negative is possible with the negation of truth *chẳng*, or its equivalent *không* (có) phải, not with the negation of existence *không*. Compare (9) to (10) and (11):

- (9) Mày không uống rượu (hay) chăng? you Neg. drink wine or chăng Don't you drink wine ?
- (10) *Mày không uống rượu (hay) không ? you Neg. drink wine or không
- (11) (C6) phải mày không uống rượu (hay) không? exist true you Neg. drink wine or không Is it true that you don't drink wine ?

In (11), the final particle không is to be read as không (có) phải — a negation of truth — by referring to the affirmative term of the question; in (10), the same không is to be interpreted as không có — a negation of existence. Once more, the semantic equivalence between chẳng and không (có) phải is clearly established, actually because (9) and (11) are synonymous.

2.4. Không, chẳng and prohibitive negation

To express negative imperatives, Vietnamese uses the auxiliaries dùng or cho:

(12) Đừng đi / chố đi Don't go In modern Vietnamese, dùng/chơ can be replaced by không, not by chẳng :

- (13) Không đi Don't go
- (13') *Chẳng đi Don't go

The possible substitution of ding/chd by $kh\partial ng$ — and the impossible use of $ch\dot{a}ng$ as a negative imperative — means that the prohibitive is a kind of negation of existence, not a negation of truth. On the one hand, $ch\dot{a}ng$ serves to negate the truth of an object whose existence is suspended if not assumed to be well established. On the other hand, $kh\partial ng$ 'empty' signifies the void of an object; this explains the potentiality of $kh\partial ng$ to mark a prohibitive negative which consists of maintaining an object in the void and therefore to interdict it to come into existence.

3. Negation and quantification

Until now, we have discussed *không* in its uses as a negative particle, especially as a preverbal auxiliary. But *không* can also function as a nominal determiner. As such, *không* is considered to be a zero quantifier :

(14) kẻ không nhà person zero house homeless person

Moreover, the Vietnamese equivalent for number zero is $s\delta$ không 'number, empty'. In (14), we can naturally add $c\delta$ 'to exist, to have', but then instead of a lexical compound unit, we will have a noun phrase or a sentence, ex. (15), whose main verb is $c\delta$ 'to have':

(15) kẻ không có nhà person Neg. have house the person who is homeless

In (15) where the main verb is $c\delta$ 'to have', không and chẳng are interchangeable but in (14) only không is acceptable. That means that không as semantically equivalent to không có 'Neg. exist' can be used as a nominal quantifier while chẳng having no such reading cannot function as a quantifier. Therefore, it is not surprising that the expression số chẳng 'number zero' is not acceptable in Vietnamese. This contrast between không and chẳng confirms once more our analysis that không and chẳng are two different types of negation, one bringing upon the quantity (the existence), the other upon the quality (the truth).

4. A tentative conclusion

The grammaticalization of không $\stackrel{*}{\not\sim}$ 'empty, void' of Chinese origin into a negative particle in Vietnamese began in the 17th century and coincided with the numerous arrivals in Vietnam of Western businessmen. Không took over chẳng as a negative particle at the beginning of the 20th century, at the same time as France established her rule in this country. These two facts suggest one thing : Vietnamese had finally invented the number zero số không which is crucial to business. Indeed, before số không no other term is found to render "zero". But what deserves to be noted here is the relation between the quantifier zero and the verbal particle không which has developed into another type of negation from that of chẳng.

It will be noted also that prohibitives are marked as a negation of existence and that in a double negation, one should be a modal negation, bringing upon a judgement of quality (true or not) and not upon a consideration of quantity (exist or not). It will be interesting to see how these data specific to Vietnamese work in other languages.

5. Negation in some of the Vi¢t-Muong languages

With regard to negation, it will be noteworthy to have a look at some of the Việt-Mường languages. In Mường, a language very close to Vietnamese, chẳng is still the main negation particle. But in Nguồn, another Việt-Mường dialect, không is the attested negation auxiliary. Some of the small Việt-Mường dialects, such as Arem (population: 80), Rµc (population: 200) use neither chẳng nor không as a negative particle but vằng which means "absence".

Many authors (H. Maspero, 1912; J. Cuisinier, 1951) consider Nguồn, Arem and Rµc as different Muờng dialects, implying that the Nguồn people living in Quảng Bình province are of Muờng origin. Other authors, mostly Vietnamese (Nguyễn Dương Bình, 1975; Nguyễn Khắc Tụng, 1975) use family registers and housing characteristics to prove that Nguồn were Vietnamese, natives of the neighboring northern provinces of Thanh Hoá, Nghệ An and Hà Tĩnh. These people to avoid war and troubles, emigrated to the present mountainous area of Quảng Bình around the 17th century. In this discussion on the origin of the Nguồn people, do the remarks on negation help to give an adequate answer?

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